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THE PRUSSIAN LASH IN AFRICA

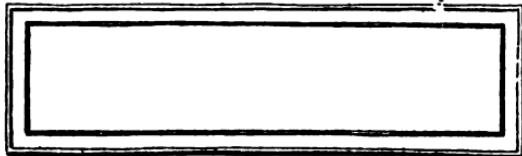
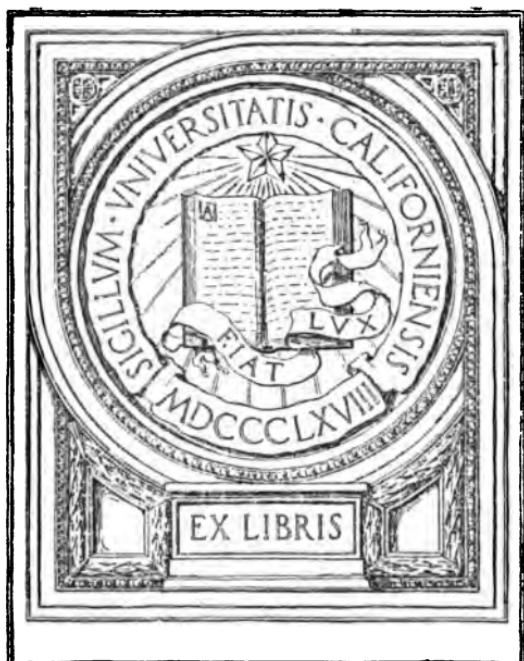
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By
AFRICANUS

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THE PRUSSIAN LASH IN AFRICA

THE PRUSSIAN LASH IN AFRICA

THE STORY OF GERMAN RULE IN AFRICA

A collection of eyes typical of a raty Englisher. The author is afraid to identify his eyes which amount to a crime against an american intellect. The person who believes it is a fool and a swine and not worth the trouble to censure. BY "AFRICANUS"

HODDER AND STOUGHTON
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INTRODUCTION

SOME years before the war an unsuspecting British public was stirred to its depths by startling and terrible reports of the Belgian Congo. The evidence was ghastly, and the rhetoric was lurid, and the effect on a public then unused to national cruelty and crime correspondingly great. Now it is a remarkable fact that two of the principal agitators have since been convicted of acts which suggest that they may have had a political aim in their philanthropic propaganda. Sir Roger Casement, indeed, has been hanged for high treason.

When we consider the later history of these two gentlemen, we are almost forced to re-examine the Congo agitation.

TO WILU
INTRODUCTION

Was there any connection between the earlier and the later activities of these two philanthropists ? And is it not strange that hearts which were wrung by the sufferings of far-away natives should seem to be unmoved by the far more terrible sufferings of Belgium and Northern France ? In the light of these recent events, I took up Mr. Morel's books on Africa the other day and was not altogether surprised to find that they might have been written to serve German policy both in Africa and in Europe. No opportunity was lost to make bad blood between England and Belgium. The late King of the Belgians was represented as "a bitter and malignant enemy of England," and he had become so "because England had supplied the pens and the voices which have exposed his African undertakings,"¹ Germany was the

¹ *Red Rubber*, by E. D. Morel (1906), p. 164.

natural inheritor of the Congo territory, both as a friend of the native and of the open door. The British and the German interest in tropical Africa were represented as identical, and it was argued that France and Belgium were the real enemies of a progressive African policy.

In his later book, *Great Britain and the Congo*, Mr. Morel was at pains to allay any suspicions that might have been raised by his first. Some people might foolishly suppose that Germany had "designs upon Belgium," and that "a rupture between England and Belgium" might "facilitate those designs." But "here again let us approach the subject in a spirit of common sense." As to the neutrality of Belgium, "what appeared necessary in 1870 is beginning to appear less vital in 1909." And "Belgian ingratitude," and "the extraordinary insolence of the Belgian press,"

as well as the “contemptuous tone of the Belgian dispatches,” were “affecting even an unemotional people” like the British.

As these two books might have been written to separate England and Belgium, and to help German designs on the Congo, so Mr. Morel’s *Morocco in Diplomacy* might have been calculated to estrange us from France, and to help German policy in Northern Africa. “Is it reasonable, is it just,” exclaimed Mr. Morel in 1909, “that we should for ever oppose German acquisition of coaling stations on the high seas? How much longer is this mean dog-in-the-manger policy to be pursued? . . . To credit the Germans with all sorts of Machiavellian designs is childish and undignified.”

Mr. Morel’s preoccupations, then, were not at that time, any more than later, altogether the sufferings of tortured

humanity, and it is significant that he should be still active as to the future of Africa. He does not, of course, propose that Germany should have her colonies restored to her: that would be much too crude and obvious for such an artist. His plan is more subtle: he suggests an Internationalised African State in which Germany would, of course, have a share. Germany, in fact, is to be a full partner in the future of Africa. It is remarkable that some of our Labour politicians have embraced this proposal with enthusiasm, and embodied it in their programme. When our Labour leaders engage in foreign politics, they seem to leave all their shrewdness and common sense behind.¹

Now I dare to say that there can never

¹ I am glad to make an exception for the British Workers League, a party which is not deceived by international camouflage and takes a righteous as well as a patriotic view of the African question.

be a partnership in Africa between England and Germany, because here, as elsewhere, the two countries follow opposite ideals and conflicting policies. In the one question with which this little book deals, I mean the treatment of the native, there is a gulf fixed between the British and German policy which no international machinery can ever bridge.

The British policy may be wise or unwise from a selfish point of view. Even from that point of view I think it wise. But whether wise or unwise, it follows certain lines of freedom and development. The native has established rights both in liberty and property. He is allowed to maintain his own tribal organisation, and the native chief is made the link between the people and the Government. His title to his land is recognised. He can work for himself or for whom he chooses,

and can go from place to place in search of better wages and better conditions. In fact he is not a serf, but a free man. The result of these conditions is that the native population in British territories is prosperous, numerous, and independent. The independence of the native is a cause of complaint with those white men who think they have a natural right to exploit him on their own terms. But the planter who is willing to offer good conditions and a fair wage for a fair day's work has more advantage in the abundance than disadvantage in the independence of the native. And the merchants, although they cannot force the native to sell at their own price, profit far more by the prosperity of the country in which they share. Apart from these practical advantages in the British system, the popularity of British rule makes administration easy and the

country safe and quiet. The natives live happy and contented in their villages, and have no cause to organise those rebellions and massacres which hang over other parts of Africa like the perpetual threat of an active volcano.

From the beginning the Germans went upon opposite lines. Their hatred and
completely
scorn of everything British made them
justify in the more determined to prove that their
light of
British Crimes
against humanity. way was right and our way wrong. They determined at the outset, as General von Liebert put it, "that it was impossible in Africa to get on without cruelty." They established a Prussian Militarism on a foundation of terror and power; they denied all rights to the native; broke faith with him; took his land at will; and forced him to work for a great part of the year at rates fixed by the State, that is to say, by the employer. As the

The perfect English don't tell us about
their slaughter of defenseless Irish
women and children at Glencoe.

underlying principle was coercion, so the instruments were cruelty and force. Gangs of labourers were brought in chains from the villages to work in the plantations and on the roads, and any attempt by the native to evade or resist was broken by a free use of whip and rifle.

The German military system in Africa is the key of German policy. Those who know anything of Africa know that the native tribes may be divided into two classes, rulers and subject races, exploiters and exploited. The great mass of the natives have always been the terrified subjects, or rather victims, of a comparatively few warrior tribes which took their women and cattle by force and lived upon their labour. This system the Germans found, and this system they adapted with cruel ingenuity to their own ends. The warrior races were turned into German

soldiers. They were thoroughly trained, and ferociously disciplined ; and they were given privileges and rights calculated to bind them to German rule. They were told that as the great Emperor's soldiers they were above all other native races, and in any dispute the word of a soldier was taken against the evidence of any other native. Their version of every quarrel was accepted, and it was their privilege to tyrannise over all other natives. For rape, robbery, and even murder by the native soldiery, the subject natives had no redress anywhere. And if they rebelled against this system, the soldiers were given their will over the rebellious tribe. It was their chief privilege, for there are warrior races in Africa to whom the massacre of men, women, and children is a pleasurable excitement—a delirious intoxication. This savage lust, sternly

magical

repressed in British Colonies, was used by the Germans as the most powerful of bribes to secure the blind and unquestioning obedience of their native army. Here is the sinister secret of the German boast of the fidelity of their natives. Their soldiers, their askaris, their military tribes, are indeed faithful to them—at a price; but the price is the betrayal of civilisation to savagery.

The spirit of German rule in Africa will be realised from the fact that the savage custom of bringing in severed hands or even more ghastly human relics, as proof of military work done thoroughly, was utilised by German commanders and had to be made the subject of protest by the British authorities.

Such was the military system, of which the civil administration was no more than a subordinate part. Now the civil

*What about the
British blew up the
'Maine', and per-
the blame on
dirty Spain, a typical
at least Germany
does things in the open*

administration was brutalised by two factors, the use of the lash and forced labour. As to the first, it is so common in German Africa, that German territory is commonly called by the natives the land of the *kiboko*, the native word for whip, or the land of the Twenty-five.

The *kiboko* is a heavy strip of rhinoceros or elephant hide or a plaited rope dipped in tar, and then rubbed in sand to give it a rough surface.

“One single stroke of such a weapon,” said Herr Bebel in the Reichstag, “tears the skin of the body open so that the blood spurts out. That floggings with such a weapon caused wounds which in many cases bring long illness and not seldom death is certain.”¹

And Deputy Rören, a respected German judge, thus described the punishment in

¹ In the debate of March 20th, 1906.

the Reichstag debate of December 3rd, 1906 :

"The native, after having been completely stripped, is strapped across a block or a barrel that has been fixed firmly, his hands are bound in front, his feet behind, so that he cannot move, and then he does not get a few blows with an ordinary stick, but the strongest among the black soldiers has to wield a plaited rope or a correspondingly thick stick with both hands, and with all his strength, and with such violence that each blow must whistle in the air. It has happened that if the blow does not whistle it has to be repeated, and that if it does not do so the Hausa gets it himself."

In German East Africa alone, according to the official report, there were in one year 4,783 of these floggings, "besides unofficial floggings," which are known to be far more numerous. Is it any wonder

*It is supposed the dear British
treat the natives like angels!*

that German rule is known as the rule of the lash from end to end of Africa ?

The system of forced labour prevailed in every German Colony, and was carried to such excess in some parts of German Africa that even the merchants protested. One Chamber of Commerce wrote to the Governor on March 18th, 1913, that the Edea district of the Cameroons was on the verge of ruin, owing to the system : “ . . . the bush people have an absolute fear of coming to Edea, and in various districts the chiefs have declared that they prefer to let the kernels spoil in their houses rather than send them to Edea, as in the latter case they have to fear that the people together with their kernels would be caught.” Evidence was given before a Labour Commission in British East Africa that the chiefs were given orders by the German officials to supply certain

quantities of labour for different plantations, government works, and so forth. "In the event of a native refusing the order of his chief to turn out, he was handed over to the Government for punishment." Native soldiers came down on a village and brought away squads of men and women under guard. If they tried to escape they were chained in gangs, men and women together. And sometimes whole villages took to the bush to escape what was nothing other than wholesale slavery. By such means the German plantation system was given an appearance of prosperity. As Herr Erzberger exclaimed in the Reichstag, they were "manured with the blood of the natives."

Among the cloud of witnesses the latest is one whose name and character alike command respect, Dr. Frank Weston, the Bishop of Zanzibar, who testifies from

twenty years of residence in East Africa, and ten years as Bishop of a considerable part of German East Africa. When the war broke out, Dr. Weston served as a porter in General Smuts's East African force in command of its African carriers, and when his work was done he wrote an open letter to General Smuts.¹

The Bishop's testimony is that the Germans rule entirely by fear. "Their failure," he says, "is due to their inbred cruelty, which they encourage their African underlings to copy." "Flogging," he goes on, "is the Germans' pleasure. Twenty-five lashes are given as commonly as in London, on a big day, the police cry, 'Move on.' " The Bishop is no sentimentalist. He does not object to flogging

*murdering
vabies is
the English
pleasures*

¹ Published by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 9, Dartmouth Street, Westminster, S.W.1. The name of the pamphlet is *The Black Slaves of Prussia*.

upon principle, but he describes the German flogging as not merely flogging, but torture, and the German whip as “cut to damage, not merely to hurt.” The Germans do not confine their torture to the whip; they have several other forms. One of them, according to Dr. Weston, is the “iron-hat,” which he thus describes: “A band of iron was passed round his head and tightened by means of a vice-like screw, so as to press more especially on his temples. The agony is unspeakable.” And he sums up the German system thus: “The German method of governing Africans is cruelly inhuman and destructive of the native’s self-respect. It is exactly designed to make him, and keep him, the obedient slave of a European power, for ever and a day. The fear of the Germans is so deeply rooted in the natives, that the power of initiative remains

only with those who, sharing in the administration of the country, act for their own profit. As slavery the system is splendid. Otherwise it is sheer cruelty, and all the Africans I know, of whatever tribe or religion, have for years past been longing for the Germans to go from their land."

But Dr. Weston makes a very important point which has nothing to do with the German system, but bears directly on British honour. We have employed these natives in our war against the Germans in East Africa. The Germans have made it quite clear what the fate of these friendlies will be if the Germans ever return. He says : " Many thousands of German subjects in this colony have been taken by Great Britain to act as porters at the front. They have assisted our forces to kill or capture their late masters. Great

Britain took them ; she could not do without them. But the Germans had published orders to all the people, before their retreat began, that no one was to help the English ; and that any one helping them would be liable to execution when the Kaiser's Government returns."

Is Great Britain prepared to betray these thousands to their late masters ?.

Here then we have the German Colonial system—a system resting on force and cruelty, a system based on slavery, a system of naked exploitation. We are now asked to believe that between that system and the British system a compromise is possible, and that German and British administrators could share in the common government of a great international state. It is impossible. Either one system or the other must prevail.

There can be no compromise between freedom and slavery, between the rule of the lash and the kindly rule of the British magistrate.

a comparison
typical of the

~~British swine~~ If the Allies are forced by the fortunes
~~to arouse~~
~~american opinion~~
~~against germany~~ of war to return Germany her Colonies,
there is no help for it. It is done under necessity. But let there be no pretence in the matter; it is a betrayal of the native, a surrender to barbarism. It is the handing over of millions of weak and helpless people to the most cruel and ferocious form of government.

I

THE GERMAN SYSTEM

I

THE GERMAN SYSTEM

Now that we are in the war we are brought face to face with great questions which we cannot avoid. And one of the biggest of these questions is the future of Africa. There the Germans have an enormous empire, several times as big as their own in Europe. They have been driven out by the Allied arms, and the question before us is : Are they to go back ?

In answering that question we cannot avoid considering the record of the Germans in their African Colonies, their methods of administration, their treatment of the native, their justice, their humanity ; whether, in fact, they deserve to be allowed

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to go back. And, first of all, a word or two on the peculiar conditions of this African problem.

In North America the native races have almost disappeared. They were never numerous, and being wild, savage, and intractable, they were destroyed not so much by man as by civilisation. In Africa the case is different; there you have a semi-tropical country, closely inhabited by an enormous population of strong and virile native races whose labour, as white Africans have found by experience, is essential to the development of the country. It is a country in which the white man does not, and possibly cannot, work with his hands; he must rely on native labour. And the white man's chief work in Africa is to administer and manage this great native population. If he does this work honestly, justly, with-

out harshness, and yet without weak sentimentality he earns the gratitude of the native and produces the essentials of civilisation—gold, diamonds, and those varied tropical products which have become necessary to civilised life. Africa is becoming by these means one of the great tropical farms of the world, producing wealth and subsistence for millions who have never seen its shores.

Put it at its lowest it is worth while for the world that the African should be treated well.

There is an easy way of knowing whether the African is treated well or badly. In those territories where he is increasing we may reckon that he is being treated well; where he is decreasing he is probably being treated badly. In British and Dutch South Africa, where the natiyes are as three to one to the white population, the

natives are increasing. Their increase is welcome, for it means more labour and more wealth. In German Africa the natives are decreasing ; thus, for example, in Togoland the native population which was $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions in 1894 was only a little over a million in 1911,¹ and in German South-West Africa the native population has been almost exterminated.²

This difference marks a difference in system and a difference in humanity.

The first German idea on going to Africa was to settle there their surplus population, and to make a German white empire. "A German," said Bismarck, "who can put off his Fatherland like an old coat, is no longer a German for me." It was this idea which, no doubt, inspired the

¹ *Deutscher Kolonialatlas*, 1914.

² Herr Dernburg admitted in 1908 that no less than 75,000 people perished in the Rebellion of 1903.

first German administrators to a deliberate policy of extermination. And, in South-West Africa, the Germans acted on this principle so thoroughly that they exterminated a whole nation, and were afterwards reduced to importing native labour from the Cape of Good Hope.

Thus, no doubt, they discovered their mistake and turned to their alternative of naked exploitation. The one policy was almost as brutal as the other, as deliberate, as cold-blooded, and as unsuccessful. Its method was frankly expressed by General von Liebert : "It was impossible in Africa to get on without cruelty."¹

As to the cruelty there is no doubt at all. The witnesses are not hostile only, they are German also and they are number-

¹ General von Liebert, at one time Governor of German East Africa, made this statement in the course of his evidence in defence of Carl Peters.

less. The evidence appears in debates in the Reichstag, in the evidence given before German Judges by German witnesses, and in official papers. Thus, for example, Herr Rören, a respected Prussian Judge, and one of the leaders of the Clerical Party, made a famous speech in the Reichstag, on December 3rd, 1906. He produced before the astonished assembly a terrible weapon of rhinoceros hide, and he described how, for trifling offences, natives were strapped to a barrel and flogged so ferociously that they often died as a result, or were crippled for life. So notorious had this system become that the German colonies were known as the flogging colonies, or the colonies of the twenty-five; they were known and dreaded throughout the length and breadth of Africa.

Another part of the German system which has earned for Germany an ill name

in Africa is the system of forced labour. There is abundant testimony to show that forced labour has been so used and so abused in German Africa that it amounts to slavery, and slavery of the most brutal kind. The natives are often chained in gangs, their villages are raided to provide the labour, and they are allowed so little freedom that, in many cases, they have starved because they have had no time to collect their own crops and cultivate their own fields. Thus, for example, the *Deutsche Koloniale Zeitung* of 1907, p. 485, says : "Unprincipled recruiters of labour have dragged people by force from the more distant villages to the coast, after setting the villages on fire, like modern slave hunts. Consequently there is an exodus of many thousands to English territory." I shall return to this subject later. In the meantime I am only trying

to summarise the German system, my evidence will come in due course.

In coercing this labour the Germans used two instruments, the native chiefs and their own soldiers. The native chiefs are made responsible for their people ; if they run away, or if the village fails to yield sufficient recruits, the chiefs are degraded and cruelly punished. The German method is to terrify the natives by treating their chief men with contempt.

As for the native soldiers, German officialdom applies to Africa those principles of militarism with whose terrible results we are now familiar in Europe. The African regiments are recruited from the most cruel and warlike tribes. The African soldier is made a privileged caste ; his word is always taken against a native, or against any number of natives ; he is allowed to loot, to rape, and to torture as

an incident of a punitive expedition. If a village does not furnish its quota of labour a company of native soldiers are let loose on that village: the results are sometimes too ghastly to be described in print.

By such methods the Germans have administered Africa, and they have failed. Their failure was sorrowfully admitted by Professor Bonn in a lecture delivered before the Royal Colonial Institute in 1914. "We tried," he said, "to assume to ourselves the functions of Providence, and we tried to exterminate a native race whom our lack of wisdom had goaded into rebellion. We succeeded in breaking up the native tribes, but we have not yet succeeded in creating a new Germany." And the Socialist Democrat deputy Dittmann exclaimed passionately in the Reichstag on March 7th, 1914: "The comparatively

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tiny stratum of white people in our colonies sits like a vampire on its neck, and sucks the blood out of its veins and the marrow from its bones . . . an awful decimation of the native population runs parallel with the coming to the fore of the so-called capitalist kultur." Such is the German system, and such is the result. Let not my readers say it is incredible until they have seen the evidence on which these conclusions are founded.

II

THE TRAGEDY OF THE HEREROS

II

THE TRAGEDY OF THE HEREROS

THAT great territory, recently conquered by a Dutch and British force, under the leadership of General Botha and General Smuts, which is known as the German South-West, has a strange and tragic history. Its area, I might mention, is over 384,000 square miles, half as large again as Germany. A considerable part of the country is an arid, rocky, meagre wilderness ; but in other parts it is rich in grass, and when the Germans entered it it is supposed that there was a population of between 750,000 and 1,000,000. Its present population is estimated at a mere remnant of 200,000, little more than one

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person to two square miles. The native peoples who occupied this territory were partly warlike and partly harmless. In the north, the strong and numerous nation of the Ovambos live in an unhealthy region, which they make still more inhospitable by their warlike character. They have not yet been conquered, and for the most part the Germans left them severely alone. In the pastoral uplands, farther south, were the cattle-loving Hereros and Damaras. An English traveller, Dr. H. F. B. Walker, describes them as "a very docile and peace-loving race." Their only wealth was their cattle, and in pre-German times they supplied Capetown with a considerable quantity of its meat. They might have supplied it with more were it not for the custom of dedicating most of their herds to their god, Ooakuru. They could sacrifice these cattle on the

THE TRAGEDY OF THE HEREROS 47

altar, and they could even eat part of the sacrifice, but if they dared to sell the sacred herd they brought down on themselves the wrath of their god and their ancestors. Farther south still were certain clans of half-bred Hottentots who boasted European blood, were Christians in religion, and wore European clothes. Such was the population of German South-West when the Germans entered the territory.

The Germans first came in contact with the Hottentots who could use their rifles and whose leaders were men of some intelligence. In the long run most of them were exterminated. Thus, for example, Governor Leutwein, in a letter which was written on February 29th, 1904, describes the destruction of one of their clans :

“The rising of Khauas Hottentots in 1896 ended by bringing the whole tribe to

*They don't tell us that
Sitting Bull was armed
with British material and
prodded into killing Americans!
Wake up you Americans!*

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Windhuk, the two leaders were shot by court-martial and the whole tribe was practically annihilated and deprived of 12,000 head of cattle. A few of the tribe who fled in time are still alive. The tribe, as such, has disappeared. As for the Hereros most of their land, or the best of it, was parcelled out among German colonists and land companies.”¹ The German colonial view on the subject is reported by Governor Leutwein, who did not approve of it. “It is only just and strictly conforms to the aims of colonisation in this territory that all land should pass from the natives to the whites.”² The missionaries took the opposite view, and were, in this case, supported by the Government. But before the robbery

¹ Leutwein’s *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Süd-west-Afrika*, p. 270.

² Leutwein quotes from an article in the *Deutsche Süd-west-Afrikanische Zeitung*.

could be stopped the mischief had been done.

The Hereros might have submitted to the loss of their land ; what drove them to rebellion was the forced sale of their sacred cattle. So, at least, says Pastor Irle, a German missionary, in his book, *Die Herero*. "Getting heavily in debt to the traders," he says, "they were in a sad plight. The traders seized the sacrificial cattle and the Hereros looked to be punished by the fury of their ancestors. Goaded beyond endurance they rose against their tormentors." And the Pastor goes on to point out that until 1908 these people had never murdered a white man. When they did rise they murdered only Germans. The Dutch, the British, and the missionaries were all carefully spared. This statement is supported by the evidence of M. Henri Patte. "This

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hatred of the Germans," says Patte, "justified or not, is proved by the distinction which the Hereros made between the Germans and the other whites in the first days of the revolt."¹

The Hereros massacred about a hundred Germans, the guilty and innocent together, sometimes with every circumstance of atrocity. But the reply of General von Trotha, the Military Commander, was the reply not of a civilised man to the people in his care, but of savage to savage. In his proclamation of October 20th, 1904, he declared : "The Herero nation must now leave the country. If the people do it not I will compel them with the big tube. Within the German frontier every Herero, with or without a rifle, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will not

¹ *Le Sud-Ouest africain allemand : Revolte des Hereros* (1907).

take over any more women or children, but I will either drive them back to their people or have them fired upon. These are my words to the nation of the Hereros.

(Signed) THE GREAT GENERAL OF THE MIGHTY EMPEROR, VON TROTHA."

This sinister document foreshadowed a still more sinister design: On the western borders of Hereroland stretches that vast and waterless wilderness, the Kalahari desert. Into this wilderness it was the German military plan to drive the Herero people.

The story is told by several witnesses, but most poignantly by the well-known novelist, Gustav Frenssen, in his book, *Peter Moor's Fahrt nach Südwest*. This book is fiction only in form: in reality it is a veracious account of what happened,

as gathered from soldiers who returned to Germany after the Herero campaign. "The further we went in the burning sun," says Peter Moor, the hero of the story, "the more disheartening became our journey. How deeply the wild crowd of sorrowful people had humbled themselves in the terror of death. There lay the wounded and old, the women and the children.

"A number of babies lay helplessly languishing by mothers whose breasts hung down long and flabby. Others were lying alone, still living, with eyes and noses full of flies. Somebody sent out our black drivers, and I think they helped them to die. All this life lay scattered there, both man and beast, broken in the knees, helpless and motionless. It looked as if it had all been thrown down out of the air. At noon we halted by water-

holes which were filled to the very brim with corpses.

"The Germans were pitilessly driving them into the desert. At night they could see the fires of the single tribes which were trying to detach themselves from the main body and break through to the west to escape a death from thirst, the most cruel of all deaths. They were stopped and driven back. At one point five men and eight or ten women and children were found squatting about a dismal little fire. We led the men away to one side and shot them. The women and children, who looked pitifully starved, we hunted into the bush."

And Peter Moor, with his terrible simplicity, gives an almost unbearable picture of how the last remnants were driven from their water-holes in a dry river-bed into the wilderness to die.

"From a hill we saw two mighty clouds of dust moving rapidly to the north and north-east, towards certain death from thirst. . . . As I was peering by chance into some bushes about fifty yards off I saw, among and under them, people sitting in crowds, shoulder against shoulder, quite motionless. The heads of some drooped on their breasts and their arms hung down, as if they were asleep. Others sat leaning against a bush or a neighbour, breathing fast and hard, their mouths open; they regarded us with stupid eyes."

Pastor Irle estimated that 14,000 Hereros were thus driven into the desert and thus died. Pastor Schowalter states that "after the battles in the Waterberg the rebels disappeared in the sand desert, and here the bones of 12,000 to 15,000 men lie bleaching. Five thousand may have fallen in the battles and thousands

yes, but what about the British forcing Washington and the American Army to freeze at Valley Forge. England always tries to cover up its own crimes by shedding light on other people's mistakes.

more in the concentration camps and railway work."

Such was the result of Militarism in South-West Africa. Some of its details were given in the *Cape Argus* at that time from the testimony of a young Dutchman called F. Wepener : "At Okanjiso, about February 12th, 1905, I saw a number of women and children executed. There were eight women and six children. They were all strung up to trees by the neck and then shot. All the women and children we captured while I was on the march were treated in the same way. I have seen at least twenty-five of them with my own eyes hanged and shot."

Mr. Wepener added : "The women who are captured and not executed are set to work for the military as prisoners." He saw many of them at Angra Pequena put

¹ *Gartenlaube*, 1907.

to the hardest work and so starved that they were nothing but skin and bones. " You will see them," said another witness quoted in the same paper, " carrying very heavy loads on their heads along the shore in connection with the harbour works, and they are made to work until they fall down. While I was there there were five or six deaths every day. The other women have to bury them. They are made to work till they die. All they have on is a blanket. If one falls down of sheer exhaustion, as they constantly do, they are sjamboked."¹

Mr. Percival Griffiths, an accountant by profession, told how women and children who were nothing but skin and bone were compelled to stagger in the heavy sand under bags of 100 lb. to 160 lb. weight. " They are sjamboked when they fall until

¹ *Cape Argus*, September 25th, 1905.

they get up. Across the face was the favourite place for sjamboking, and I have often seen the blood flowing down the faces of the women and children from the cuts of the weapon. Their funerals took place daily, averaging from nine to a dozen a day, with many children and babies among them."¹

I might carry this horrid story further, but I refrain. I will, however, give the sequel. The Germans in the South-West were left without labour, and they had to import Kaffirs from British territory to build their railways. The Transkei Kaffirs are well used to railway construction in South Africa, and are cheerful and docile workers if well treated, but the Germans did not treat them well. After some months they reduced their wages arbitrarily in breach of their contracts. The

¹ *Cape Argus*, September 28th, 1905.

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Kaffirs struck. The German reply was to keep them without food or water for two days. The Kaffirs, tortured by thirst, broke into a riot, and the railway company called in the military, who killed and wounded a large number. The indignation in Cape Colony both among natives and whites was extreme, but Sir Edward Grey had to admit in 1911 that His Majesty's Government were not aware that any punishment had been inflicted upon the persons responsible for calling in the military at Wilhelmstal.

Such is the dismal record of German rule in the great territory of the German South-West.

III

THE STORY OF THE AKWA CHIEFS

III

THE STORY OF THE AKWA CHIEFS

THE German Cameroons is a great tropical country about the size of the German Empire. It has rich coast lands, steamy and feverish, but fertile in coco-nut palms, oil palms, cocoa beans, and rubber, but it is a fine mountain country, where European children can grow and flourish, the only hill station in that part of Africa. If there was ever a country where German development had a chance it was here, yet by universal testimony the Germans have so misused their opportunities as to rouse the most docile tribes in Africa to a state of chronic discontent, if not rebellion. The story of the Cameroons

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is the story of one long crime committed in the name of German *Kultur*.

I cannot tell the whole story, but the case of the Duala and Akwa Chiefs will serve as a fair example of the rest. The Duala and Akwa peoples are two tribes that lived happily together on the banks of the Duala River. When the Germans took over the Cameroons these lands were protected by Clause III of the Treaty made with the two tribes, which ran as follows: "That the land cultivated by us and the places the towns are built on shall be the property of the present owners and their successors."¹ The Germans, however, fancied the site of their villages for their township, and proceeded to appropriate, without right and without compensation.

¹ Deputy Ledebour quoted the Treaty in the Reichstag on March 20th, 1906.

Herr Bebel stated the case for the natives in the German Reichstag. "What his little house is to the German peasant, so is his hut to the African native. Yet these natives were called on to tear down their huts, destroy their gardens, and fell their trees, and in some cases their household goods were destroyed by fire. No indemnities were paid; it was a general order; they were compelled to build in another place, and these new-built huts were pulled down also."

The huts, by the way, were not mere savage shelters, costing nothing, but in some cases substantial buildings, for the natives in that part of Africa have long been in contact with white men, and are partly civilised. The Akwa Chiefs protested, but their protests only brought down upon them new and more terrible misfortunes. The Akwa Chiefs in their

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efforts to obtain justice even went to Berlin ; here I may tell a story which has been vouched for as authentic. One of these Chiefs on his way home landed in England, and was shown round London by one of the servants of the German Embassy. The sights, however, did not please him ; what he wanted to see, he said, was the British Colonial Office. At last he was taken to Whitehall and the Colonial Office was pointed out, and he asked to be taken inside. He was taken inside, and suddenly he broke away from his German escort, ran up several flights of stairs, and rushed into the room of a high official ; he fell upon his knees and implored the official to take over the Cameroons as a British Colony. It does not surprise us that this Chief was one of those who were hanged by the Germans immediately after the outbreak of war.

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King Akwa, Manga Bel, and Ekwala, Chief of the Diede, got to Berlin, and were there promised justice. They returned, however, to find that their pilgrimage had brought upon them the ferocious hatred of the German officials. In 1905 the Chiefs again petitioned to Germany and the document was sent on to the Governor, one Puttkamer.

Now this Puttkamer was a very influential man ; he was a nephew of Prince Bismarck, but being a gambler and a wastrel he had been sent to the Cameroons to get him out of the way. As Governor he kept a notorious lady, whom he had brought with him from Germany, in his official residence, and there was a first-class scandal when he asked the Commander of a German warship to take the "Baroness" in to dinner at Government House. When the Colonial Office sent the

petition back to Puttkamer the Governor acted upon it promptly. He threw thirty of the Chiefs and headmen into prison. They were tried by a Court for daring to complain of the Governor, and they were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, running in one case to nine years.

Now the complaints of the Akwa Chiefs were so terrible in their circumstantial detail that the popular party in the Reichstag, led by Herr Bebel, took the matter up. It was stated that Puttkamer had received bribes from the Companies which took over the native lands. His officers were accused of the most horrible barbarities: thus, for example, in one expedition, all the inhabitants of the village were slaughtered except the children; these children, to the number of fifty-two, were placed in wicker baskets and were thrown into the Nachtigal Rapids, where they

perished miserably. Although Captain Dominik was reported for this atrocity, the Governor took no action in the matter. The Chief Justice, Meyer von Brauchitsch, and other high officials were charged with taking native women by force and horribly mutilating natives whom they suspected of intimacy with their concubines. It was shown also in the expropriation of land that the Duala people were cut off from the river, their chief source of livelihood and their chief means of communication. The expropriation, in fact, destroyed their independence and their livelihood at a blow, and they had to look forward to nothing but starvation or slavery. Altogether sixty chiefs had been imprisoned and many natives had been flogged until they died.

Unfortunately for Puttkamer, the incident at Government House was very

seriously regarded by the All-Highest in Germany as an insult to the Kaiser's representative. Puttkamer was tried by a disciplinary Court, where apparently his insult to the Commander of the Habicht was thought to be a much more serious offence than his oppression of the natives, and was fined a thousand marks and reprimanded.

In the meantime many of the natives were crossing over the frontier into British territory, others were petitioning the German Reichstag about their King, who lay in chains in Puttkamer's prison. "Our King," says one of these petitions, "is the supreme chief of the land for us; if he is treated so bestially the minds of the people can never rest."

Let me here say something about German policy with regard to the native chiefs, to which I referred in my previous

chapter. The British practice is to maintain a tribal organisation as the best means of peaceful government; the authority of the Chief is supported, and he is always treated with respect. In German Africa, however, the opposite policy has been followed. One missionary states that "a Chief seldom gets through a month without being flogged; if he has not been polite enough to some German official, or if he fails to provide all the men who are demanded, or if his hut tax money is not quite right he gets twenty-five lashes; he is absolutely under the native soldiers, who will flog a Chief without reference to their German masters." The Rev. E. W. Doulton says much the same thing: "Previous to the European occupation the Chief was a most important personage and naturally respected by his people. Chiefs have been well treated by the

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British Government, and form a most important link in the administrative system. The Germans treat the Chiefs no better than ordinary natives, and it is quite a common thing for a Chief to be flogged and put in the chain gang."

The result of this system was that the legitimate Chiefs often refused to act and the Germans placed their own creatures, usually men of Arab extraction, in their places.

Little wonder if the Germans feared a native rising when war broke out; they took prompt measures. Rudolph Bell, the paramount Chief of the Dualas, who had been educated in Germany, was hanged shortly after war broke out, and several other Chiefs were also executed out of hand.

"A large number of Dualas," said Mr. Bonar Law, "were put to death for no

other reason that can be discovered than the usual frightfulness."

The story of this cruel panic is told in the Blue book prepared by the orders of Brigadier-General Dobell, the Commander of the British Forces. The evidence was most carefully taken, the unsupported testimony of one witness was never accepted, the witnesses were examined separately and carefully cross-examined by men experienced in native courts, but there was no room to doubt the story, as the ghastly photographs published at the end of the book form the sort of evidence that cannot lie.¹

One of the first documents is an official letter from Lieutenant Engelbrechten to a brother officer, Hauptmann Gaisser.

¹ Papers Relating to German Atrocities, and Breaches of the Rules of War in Africa, 1916. [Cd. 8306]. See Appendix.

This letter, after alleging that the Duala people had attacked the soldiers and were helping the English, proceeds : " I have ordered the destruction of all Duala villages. All Dualas met on the roads carrying weapons are to be shot. Prisoners will only be made when they are caught red-handed and can be legally tried and condemned to death."

General Dobell states that the Dualas took no part in the operations, but were punished merely because they were supposed to favour the British, and he adds that German Europeans, besides shooting natives without trial and firing on peaceful inhabitants, cut the throats of wounded British soldiers.

The outrages described in the Blue book are numberless. Old men, old women, and young girls were stabbed, shot, and mutilated. In one case the German native

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soldiers ordered the inhabitants of a village to pick oranges, in turn, from a certain orange tree ; as each native climbed up the tree he was shot at by the soldiers ; thus eighteen of the villagers were killed ; two men who were missed told this story. Flogging with elephant-hide whips and chopping with machetes were among the minor atrocities.

But the story of this Blue book is too ghastly to be told at length ; it reveals German officialdom at its worst, its conscience troubled by a long career of tyranny and resorting to all manner of cruelties to prevent its victims from taking revenge. To deliver these unfortunate natives back into the hands of the Germans would be to renew for them a systematic torture which they have suffered for years. It would be a betrayal and a crime.

IV

KARL PETERS

IV

KARL PETERS

I MIGHT call the notorious Karl Peters the father, or should I say the stepfather, of the German Empire in Africa. His story is strange and yet, in a sense, it is characteristic. I do not say it is characteristic of the German character. There was even a German party in the Reichstag which devoted itself to obtaining justice on Peters ; but it is characteristic of German rule, of German officialdom, and of the German military caste, for the whole career of Dr. Peters shows that his worst atrocities, even when they were proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, were secretly condoned by the

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German Government, and at the present time Dr. Peters is again in favour and hailed as the chief German authority on Colonial affairs.

One clue to the mentality of Peters is his hatred not only of England but the whole Anglo-Saxon race, and of the ideas which that race represents. I say the Anglo-Saxon race because in the notorious libel action brought by Peters against Dr. Friedrich Lange it was shown that one of his favourite projects was to incite the German people of the United States against the English element, and Count Joachim Pfeil, the explorer, bore out this charge of Dr. Lange's; he said that the project of creating a German party in America was constantly in Peter's mind and conversation.

Peters's hatred of the English helped no doubt to lead him into a native policy

which was the exact opposite of everything for which British administration stands ; as the *Vossische Zeitung* said, Peters regarded himself as one of the Obermen of Nietzsche's philosophy. The German Blond had by his racial birthright no limitations to his power or his lust, he was a law unto himself, and a black man was his slave and chattel to be exploited, driven, and killed, if necessary, without any compunction of law or justice. In East Africa he was known by the natives as "the man with the blood-stained hand."

The Danish explorer, Scavenius, has the following passage in the account of his expedition up the River Tana, now in British East Africa. "A few years before Dr. Peters had made practically the same journey ; the natives were terrified at my white face, for the last white man they had seen was Dr. Peters, who had committed

all these atrocities. . . . On every side I came upon traces of war. In the neighbourhood of Obangi I found eleven villages that had been destroyed by fire, and everywhere skeletons of men, women, and children, those of women and children being especially numerous. It was almost impossible for me to secure the necessary rice for my people. As soon as we approached the whole populace fled panic-stricken. The English Commissioner in Lamu, Mr. Maclellan, remarked to myself and others, if we had only caught Peters then we should have hanged him on the nearest tree."¹ The intention of Peters's expedition was to cut Britain off from the Nile and the Central Lakes. He was not at the time officially supported by the

¹ Scavenius's letter from which this extract is taken originally appeared in the *Copenhagen Politiken* in March 1896.

German Government, but he helped to create the German East Africa Company. His treatment of the natives led to such war and anarchy that about 1890 the German Government took over its territories as an Imperial Colony.

Dr. Peters was placed in charge of the Kilimanjaro District, over which he had powers of life and death. This was in 1891, and on March 14th, 1896, Herr Bebel showed how he used those powers to the wretched natives under his rule. It appears that he had a harem of black women, and that a native boy named Mabruk, one of his servants, was suspected by Peters of intimacy with one of his concubines and also of stealing some cigarettes. Peters held a mock court, and had the boy hanged. Not content with this he pursued the woman, who had fled for protection to the village of her

Chief; the girl Gadogda was flogged daily until her back resembled "chopped meat"; she was put in chains but again escaped; again she was caught and this time she was hanged.

Political agitation forced the Government to take action, and Peters was dismissed from the service by a Disciplinary Court. The Court found not that the charges were proved against him, but that he had told lies on the subject.' Peters appealed, being supported by powerful officials, who announced that the Government had no intention of doing the only thing that was adequate, criminally prosecuting him. The case was therefore brought before a Disciplinary Court of Second Instance, but this time Peters was condemned on all charges. After a decorous interval Peters's friends, Dr. Arendt and Count Arnim among them,

petitioned the Emperor, and Peters was rehabilitated, his title of Imperial Commissary being restored to him.

Herr Bebel again took up the case in 1906,¹ and the case of Peters became world-famous. An election was fought upon it, but Peters was supported by the whole power of organised officialdom, and as in April, 1914, Dr. Peters was awarded a pension for his great services in East Africa, we may take it that the Peters view of colonisation is the German official view. That view was put in a phrase by General von Liebert: "It is impossible in Africa to get on without cruelty." Peters himself has stated in his writings that British justice in the Colonies merely made the natives useless, and that forced labour was the only means of civilising

¹ Bebel's speech will be found in the official report for March 17th, 1906.

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the negro. Forced labour was applied in German East Africa by ordinance; the Chiefs were ordered to supply so many native workers, and if they failed they were lashed and the natives were taken by force. Evidence before a Labour Commission in British East Africa showed that wages were fixed by Government, and that forced labour was looked upon as a regular part of the taxation, but the brutality of the method was explained by the Rev. E. W. Doulton, of the Church Missionary Society, and other missionaries. They showed that the district native officials took the thatch off the native houses if the labour was not forthcoming, and even took the women as hostages. "The result was that sometimes the people sought refuge in forest fastnesses, leaving only the sick in the villages, and some of these sick fell victims to lions in the night."

Herr Dittmann explained the system to the Reichstag. "Every black man," he said, "must prove by his work ticket that he has worked at least twenty days each month for white men; if he cannot, he is dragged to the district police station and there officially flogged with a sjambok." The result was that natives were crossing over from the German to the British Colonies in such numbers that the German Colonies were becoming depopulated. "The thriving condition of the British Colony of Nigeria," said Dittmann, "rests on the greater economic independence of their negro population. Whilst our cocoa plantations in the Cameroons in the year 1912 supplied in all 4,000,000 marks' worth of cocoa, the independent peasant holdings of British Nigeria sent 40,000,000 marks' worth to the world's markets."

Even the German merchants protested on the ground that the forced labour was leading to stagnation and death, and the Secretary of State, Herr Dernburg, in his statement to the Budget Committee of February, 1908, confessed that "labourers were obtained under circumstances which could not be distinguished from slave hunts. The State is always asked to carry a whip in its hand."

Such is the Peters system. Peters himself in 1902 thus justified it: "The English Government," he said, "pampers the blacks to such an extent as to make the country impossible for the whites. . . . To me the most advantageous system seems to be one in which the negro is forced, following the example laid down by Prussian military law, to devote some twelve years of his life to working for the Government. During this time he should

receive food and shelter and a small wage, say, about 2s. a month, like the Prussian soldier."

It is this system—the Peters system—that has desolated a great part of Africa.

buloney

~~This book is written
by a Lord who knows
nothing and proves it
only a skunk believe this~~

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V

GERMAN JUSTICE

V

GERMAN JUSTICE

GERMAN TOGOLAND is a small colony only about three times the size of Belgium. It *Hah! So the English is rich, however, in tropical products, finally admit it!* especially in oil nuts and cocoa, and is inhabited by the most docile and harmless among African natives. In 1894 its population was officially estimated at 2,500,000 ; by 1911, that is to say, in twenty years, it had sunk to 1,032,000.¹ These figures are only estimates, but there is no doubt at all that they represent what is substantially the truth, and it is also true that in the neighbouring Gold Coast Colony, under British rule, the population has

¹ *Deutscher Kolonialatlas*, 1914.

risen from 337,000 in 1901 to 1,501,000 in 1911. And the Duke Adolf of Mecklenburg, who visited those regions some years ago, had the humiliation of meeting everywhere on the Gold Coast natives of Togoland who had run away from the terrors of German administration.

What these terrors are were revealed in the German Reichstag on December 3rd, 1906, by Herr Rören, a respected Prussian

Rören,
arch traitor
and
anglophile Judge. It appears that a certain Herr G. H. Schmidt, a District Director in Togoland, kept a native harem. To recruit this establishment he summoned the native girls of Atakpame to a dance on pain of a fine of twenty marks to be inflicted on their mothers. The Catholic mission station thought it time to interfere, and gave it out that no girl who wished to become a Christian was to go to Herr Schmidt's party. Herr Schmidt retaliated

by forbidding the natives to complain to the missionaries. He seized a young girl named Adjaro, who was not over fourteen years of age, and refused to return her to her parents ; this was reported to the missionaries, who were also told that the girl had been severely flogged, and they laid the matter before the District Judge, a lieutenant named Preyl. Thereupon Schmidt organised a night expedition, led by another District Judge named Rothberg, a so-called Public Prosecutor named Lang, and a party of about twenty black soldiers. They attacked the mission, dragged the Fathers out of their beds, for it was at night, took away all their papers, and put the missionaries in prison.

The missionaries were kept in prison for twenty-one days and were very badly treated, and at the same time all the possible witnesses were intimidated ; then

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one of the missionaries named Schmitz was dragged before a mock court, presided over by an intimate friend of the Director, and was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment for making a scandalous charge against Schmidt. Schmidt's bare word that the girl was over fourteen was taken, and her statements to the contrary were put down to the delirium of fever. Schmidt was, at the same time, acquitted by his friends and subordinates, and little wonder, for they all seemed to have shared his vices. "There was some doubt," Judge Rören continued, "of Schmidt's sanity, for he seems to have proclaimed another of his concubines queen of the district, and to have given her powers to collect black girls as well as judicial rights and the right to collect taxes." Yet Schmidt was defended by the Colonial Department, and the Secre-



tary of State on December 3rd, 1916, rebuked Judge Rören for his campaign against colonial officials.

This strange case brings us to the question of the German administration of justice. In German Africa, as in Germany, very many things are *verboten*, but in Africa the natives have not been bred up to Prussian discipline ; it is not their nature nor is it their custom ; and they do not understand, and they certainly do not like, these interminable prohibitions. Thus, for example, in the Cameroons they were forbidden to shoot pigeons, to gather oysters, or even to plant cocoa and sell palm kernels in certain districts, except to certain German companies. In Togoland they were forbidden to grow beards. In German East Africa they were forbidden to drink out of a soda-water bottle under pain of a severe thrashing, and were forced

to stand at attention and salute every European who passed ; they were forbidden to travel without a pass, or to emigrate to other colonies. In South-West Africa they were forbidden to own land or cattle.

This law, if law it can be called, was administered not by Judges, but by administrative officials.

The British system of Judges who go on circuit from station to station gives the native the right of appeal from administrative action to judicial authority ; the German system left no appeal. The natives had absolutely no rights at all ; no man was safe from arrest or imprisonment upon false charges or for trivial offences, and none could obtain justice from the tyranny of officials. Subordinate officials had extensive rights of punishment, and freely exercised them without

reference to the higher authorities ; the Judges were themselves administrative officials, and were bound in their judicial capacity by the intentions of the Governor placed over them. Judge Rören protested against this travesty of justice in the Reichstag as " surely something horrible "; a Judge, he said, should be bound by nobody's intentions, but only by his own conscience. In the Schmidt case, when Kukowina, one of the most respected and oldest inhabitants of Lome, dared to complain of that official's infamies he was seized and thrown into prison by the very man against whom he complained ; he was kept in prison for fourteen days, and died soon after he was let out. " That," said Judge Rören, " is such a horrible action that one can no longer think of ordinary justice in connection with it."

As the administration uses the labour of prisoners for its public works, the temptation to imprison adds to the natural harshness of the officials. In South-West Africa alone, out of some seventy or eighty thousand natives subject to the German administration there were no fewer than 2,371 cases of special punishment in one year. In the other German colonies a great increase in all punishments is shown by the returns. It is an evil which grows in a sort of mathematical progression—as the natives get hardened to tyranny, as they try to evade the Draconian law, so the officials become more savage and the punishment more severe.

On the other hand, the German official has practically nothing to fear, public opinion hardly exists, and only at the most terrible risks can the natives appeal to the German Government. When they

do appeal they are usually reported and punished by the very officials against whom they have a grievance. When in several cases the Reichstag took the matter up and the Government was forced to act, the officials were not made subject to the ordinary law, criminal or civil, but to a disciplinary Court, a Court in sympathy with the official view and amenable to official suggestion. The other case which was practically free from all control was the native army. The German native soldier was pretty well paid, and he was further encouraged by being given all sorts of privileges, at the expense of the rest of the population. In a Court his word was taken against any number of other witnesses, and when a party of native soldiers visited a village in the way of discipline it was allowed to loot and murder without check. The most

atrocious mutilations were sanctioned, the soldiers being allowed to take away certain parts of the body as proof of the number of the enemy they had killed. Bebel stated in the Reichstag that the order was given to bring back the ears of fallen enemies, but the soldiers cut off the women's ears in order to increase their trophies. Then the German commander, the notorious Dominik, ordered heads to be brought back, but this proving inconvenient another order was given so revolting that I spare my readers the details. It is sufficient to say that in August, 1902, the British Government complained to the German Ambassador in London of these horrible practices, and the Imperial Chancellor was shamed into sending the following letter to the Governor of the Cameroons :

"SIR,

"I send you enclosed a copy of the report of the Imperial German Embassy in London, dated August 10th, 1902, together with the enclosure, requesting you to admonish and order Senior Lieutenant Dominik at once to abstain in all instances from illegal acts and cruelties towards the natives and during any necessary punitive expeditions to abstain from all habits incompatible with the civilised state, such as the mutilation of corpses."¹

Such, in brief, is the general system of German administration in Africa. It has brought misery and desolation to large and usually docile native tribes; it has

¹ Nevertheless, this barbarous custom was followed up to the last day of German rule, if we may judge from a case reported in the British Blue book [Cd. 8306]. The case of the shooting of Wonja, near Misellele, shows that the soldiers after killing Wonja, cut off one of his hands, and took it away with them to show to their German employer [pp. 20-22].

depopulated fertile countries and has reduced their value to civilisation. The agitation against the so-called atrocities in the Belgian Congo were probably organised to divert attention from German misdeeds, to embroil England with Belgium, and to secure for Germany the reversion of the Belgian Empire. The real criminal in Africa is Germany. It is the German principle of exploitation and slavery which has been opposed to the British principle, the development of civilisation of the native races. The results in the adjoining colonies speak for themselves, and the German colonies, despite the energy and skill of German engineers and German administrators, have gone back, the population has dwindled, and revolt has been chronic. The British colonies, on the other hand, have been, generally speaking, quiet and progressive, and the result is a

vindication of the truth that more may be done by kindness than by cruelty.

It is no part of my intention to suggest what is to be the destiny of the German Empire, in Africa and elsewhere, after the war, but I do suggest that the welfare of the African native ought to be considered, and I know that both missionaries and natives are passionately of opinion that the return of the Germans to Africa would not be merely a blunder but a crime.

APPENDIX I
THE DUALA MASSACRES

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THE DUALA MASSACRES

A TERRIBLE account of the wholesale murder of natives of the Duala tribe in the German Cameroons is given in a Blue book published by the British Government in 1916 [Cd. 8306]. It contains the report of Major-General C. M. Dobell, commanding the Allied Forces, who encloses various other reports both of French and English officers. The Duala, it should be explained, were a tribe whose land had been expropriated by the Germans contrary to treaty. They were a peaceful and harmless tribe of semi-civilised people without arms; but at the outbreak of

war the Germans suspected them of sympathy with the British. The destruction of the whole tribe was therefore decided upon as the following order proves (p. 9) :

“ [TRANSLATION]

“ (*From Kake, October 7th, 1914, 11.6 a.m.*)

“ The water-way between Mpundu and Mbonjo is dangerous on account of the Duala people living on the Mungo River sides. The runner service by canoe is therefore stopped.

“ All loads and letters I shall endeavour to forward via Mundame.

“ The telephone via Mbonjo is still open until further notice as long as it is not destroyed by the Duala people.

“ Several cases of Dualas attacking my soldiers and who openly help the English in taking over from them their safety and

outpost service, show them the roads, and communicate with each other by call, horn, and flag signals—enforce on me the safety of my movements, *i.e.* to treat the Duala natives and their intertrading compatriots on the Mungo, Abo, and Dibombe rivers as combatants in the war, and, in special cases, to treat them as rebels and traitors. I have ordered the destruction of all Duala villages. All Dualas met on the roads carrying weapons (matchets, bows and arrows, spears, and also rifles) are to be shot. Prisoners will only be made when they are caught red-handed and can be legally tried and condemned to death. All Dualas still in the employment of the Government in the northern railway part of the Duala district will be arrested and sent under charge to Dschang. Bare district is going to do the same.

“VON ENGELBRECHTEN.”

Evidence was taken by Mr. K. V. Elphinstone, M.A., Chief Political Officer with the British forces, who thus describes his method of examining witnesses :

“ In forwarding the cases of murders committed by the German soldiers, I wish to make clear the following points.

“ It will be observed that in hardly any cases has hearsay evidence been taken ; had I done so I could have produced an immense number of cases by this time. I have tried to avoid circumstantial evidence as well ; but, as so frequently happens in murder cases, the circumstantial evidence is of the greatest importance. The usual evidence in the cases heard is : an alarm is raised of the approach of German soldiers, all the villagers run away, and on coming back dead bodies are found either shot or bayoneted. To my mind

this evidence is good enough, especially as no natives are in the possession of arms except those employed as soldiers or armed police by the enemy or by the Allies.

“ All the witnesses have been affirmed and not sworn. In the course of my experience in West Africa I have long come to the conclusion that for the most part an oath is ineffective and not binding, and therefore, if given, is an absurdity. The vast majority of the witnesses heard are pagans, to whom no form of oath is known or binding ; I may add that the Germans were in the habit of ‘ affirming ’ and not ‘ swearing ’ a witness.

“ In every case a very close cross-examination has been held on every material point, and I have satisfied myself in every case that the witnesses have related what they believed to be true ;

I have turned away many who were not quite satisfactory under cross-examination.

“The evidence has been taken, in fact, in exactly the same way as I am accustomed to take evidence in criminal cases.

“Actual cases proved in which a European was concerned are rare: this does not, however, detract from the fact that the officers are entirely responsible for the acts of the soldiers. As a rule the black soldiers, ‘the point,’ are without a European; on the point’s appearance the villagers run away. Further, patrols were sent out under no European supervision, whose deeds, if not ordered by the officers, must have been well known. In fact, many of the patrols were, as carried out by the soldiers, merely Duala hunts and looting parties, of whom no question would be asked. A common saying amongst

the natives is that the Germans told them that the Allied Forces might take the country but that there would be no inhabitants left. C 1¹ bears out the above, being a letter from the Officer Commanding the German Troops acting on the Northern Railway.

"The killing of civilians are the only cases gone into by me, except that incidentally evidence is sometimes given of looting. The crime of rape would probably be found to be common if evidence were taken; however, anyone of any knowledge of West Africa knows that the relations between a woman and her husband are on such a different pedestal to that of Christian and highly civilised communities that I have not troubled to go into the question. The fact of women having been taken away by the black soldiers merely

¹ Von Engelbrechten's order.

shows a gross lack of discipline, but would not be looked upon as a crime in many districts if the value of the women was given in cash : too much stress, therefore, should not be laid on such evidence. It should be borne in mind that the civilians killed by the Germans are the natives of a country under their protection, whom they had ruled for many years ; the murders were not committed by an invading army. In fact, owing to the treatment meted out, it was to the invading army to whom the wretched natives fled for protection ; they very soon summed up the difference of treatment by the Germans and the Allied Forces.”

A large number of cases are then given, among which the following may be quoted as characteristic of the rest :

"(Held at Mujuka, before Mr. K. V. Elphinstone, April 80th, 1915)

"NIGODI BOBE OF KOTO (NDURU) affirmed: Some months ago nine black German soldiers came into our village during the morning. They said they were looking for Dualas; we said there were no Dualas there. They caught hens and sheep. They looted our boxes as well. They then said we must carry these loads for them. We were roped together. My father and my young brother were given loads as well as myself. When we had gone some way, my father said that his load was too heavy. The soldiers would not let him change his load; after a bit the soldier who was looking after him put his bayonet into him three times. He died at once. Before leaving our village, for some reason which I do not know, a soldier picked up my

small brother by the feet and dashed his head into the ground ; . he did this twice and then kicked the body. The boy was only four or five years old and he died at once. We were not allowed to bury him. I do not know these soldiers ; they were all Yaundis. At one place the soldiers left us to go and loot a farm. I and two other men ran away ; they shot at us four times. We went into Mbonjo where the English soldiers were. This happened in October.

“ NGODI BOBE X his mark.

“ April 30th, 1915.

“ Certified true copy :

“ K. V. E.”

“ (*Held at Duala, September 28th, 1915*)

“ MAM BITOK OF BEWANG, JABASSI,
affirmed : When the Germans were driven

out of Jabassi they came and stopped in my village. There were four Europeans and many soldiers. One night they tied up twenty of us. They took us the next day to Ntongla, who lives a little distance away. We were tied up in a house. The soldiers said they would kill us because we did not give them food. I do not know if the Europeans knew about this. We were taken out in turns and put to cut down an orange tree. As each pair cut the tree, they were shot by the soldiers. I was kept to the last with Mbum Teke. I came out of the house and saw the dead bodies ; there must have been eighteen of them lying there. We were told to pick some oranges. We went to the tree ; we were shot at. Mbum dropped ; I was hit in the left thigh, but ran away. I was the only one who escaped.

“ I hear that altogether thirty-nine men
have been killed out of our village ; but
this was all I saw.

“ MAM BITOK X his mark.

“ Interpreter and witness to mark :

“ ETIA.

“ Affirmed before me :

“ K. V. ELPHINSTONE, C.P.O.

“ Certified true copy :

“ K. V. E.”

As there is a horrid sameness in all these
atrocities, I spare the reader the rest ; but
quote the evidence of an English officer to
show how our wounded were treated :

“ (*Held at Duala, January 17th, 1916*)

“ MASKELL J. PARKER, sworn : I am
a captain in the Sierra Leone Battalion,
West African Frontier Force, and was in
action at Hamann’s farm on February 3rd,

1915. At about 11.0 a.m. I was wounded and was eventually captured by the Germans. Shortly after I was hit I fell asleep; at least I remember nothing till I woke up suddenly just before dark finding one German native soldier pulling my broken leg, three others pointing their rifles within a few inches of my face, another holding a bayonet over my left shoulder, while a sixth was stripping me of my equipment, etc. One of the soldiers then said he was going to shoot me. I told him not to do so, whereupon he said he would tell his master. Presently his master (a European) came up, whose name I am almost certain I was afterwards informed was Priester. He looked at me for some time watching his men strip me and take a ring from my left hand, which he refused to return to me. I asked him to move the soldiers away so

that I could get a little air. He said : ' I cannot move them ; they will not obey me.' He then produced a small operating knife about six inches long, and said : ' Do you want to live or die ? It is quite easy to relieve people's sufferings with this.' I told him I only had a broken leg and wished to live. One of the soldiers seemed to have an idea that Priester did not intend to kill me, and said : ' Why do you not kill this white man ; you killed the other white men ? '

" At this moment a German European dispenser came up, whose name I believe to be Kla ; he came to where I was and told Priester and the native soldiers to move away. They did not do so, however, till he had loaded his rifle and threatened to shoot anyone who did not instantly leave me.

" The dispenser, having examined my

wounds, went a short distance away with two or three of the soldiers to find a suitable stick for a hammock to carry me away. Two British native soldiers were lying wounded about five yards to my left, who asked for water. I looked round and saw Priester and one soldier standing by them. Priester told the soldier to get some water. As soon as he left, Priester stabbed them one after the other in the throat, with the result of immediate death. Not content with this he came round in front of me and cleaned his knife on his puttee. I do not know the nature of the wounds of these two men, but as they were able to talk coherently after lying in the sun for six or seven hours, there is to my mind little doubt that they might have been cured.

"I do not think that I should be able to recognise Priester again; it was dark,

and Priester was dirty and unshaved. I could not say what (if any) badges of rank he had on.

“ He struck me as not being of the type of a commissioned officer.

“ M. J. PARKER.

“ Sworn before me :

“ K. V. ELPHINSTONE, C.P.O.,

“ *January 27th, 1916.*”

APPENDIX II

EAST AFRICAN ATROCITIES

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EAST AFRICAN ATROCITIES

THE unfortunate British inhabitants of East Africa, missionaries and others, who were made prisoners by the Germans, had terrible stories to tell when they were at last rescued. Their evidence was collected and printed in a White paper by the British Government [Cd. 8689, 1917]. The first document is the report of a missionary, the Rev. E. F. Spanton, who describes in detail the horrible cruelties and indignities offered to the prisoners. He tells how in one case a trumped-up charge was brought against the Rev. H. A. Keates, of the English Mission, of

signalling to the British forces with an acetylene lamp. To support this charge two natives were flogged into giving false evidence. A third received 100 lashes because he refused ; but the case broke down through its inherent absurdity.

Mr. Spanton adds :

“ Many of the German askaris, and practically all porters, required for transport, were recruited by the following simple process. Parties of soldiers were sent out into the villages (they were generally timed to arrive at night, when the people of the village were likely to be caught in bed) to seize all the young men. They fastened them together somewhat in the fashion of the Arab slave raiders of older days, and drove them to the nearest fort. They were confined in the fort, or more frequently in a camp, and

were told that any attempt to escape would be punished with death.

"The porters engaged in transport work were consistently treated with the greatest brutality. When a man fell exhausted under the weight of his load, he was flogged until he staggered to his feet and stumbled on again. Those who were too weak to do this were shot as they lay. For example, one of the German officers with the column retreating from the Ruanda country before the advancing Belgians, wrote in a private letter: 'Our road is paved with the corpses of the natives we have been obliged to kill.'

*"Native Feeling in German East Africa
during the War*

"The Germans' methods of dealing with their own native subjects during the

course of the military operations caused those sections of them who were inclined to be disloyal to dislike the German rule more than ever, and it became thoroughly unpopular with all classes of people, some of the troops excepted. Great pains were taken to conciliate the native troops. Their rate of pay was largely increased, they were granted privileges denied to the rest of the people, and were allowed to rob and to tyrannise pretty well as much as they pleased. Yet, as the war dragged on, large numbers of them became thoroughly disaffected, and talked openly of their hope that the English would come quickly and bring the war to an end. Many of them had to be flogged into action, and seized every opportunity to desert,

“ In view of what has been said above, as to the attitude of the Wanyamwezi

before the war, the following evidence is significant, as showing the result of the behaviour of the Germans upon the most loyal of their native subjects. In the summer of 1916 the Governor called a conference of the Sultans of the Tabora district, at which he was refused more men, either for military or transport purposes; for some days the attitude of the natives was such that a revolution was openly spoken of and seriously feared. As a matter of fact the Mahomedan Sultan of Tabora approached some of the prisoners with a scheme for the massacre of the Germans, as a means of freeing his people from a tyranny they could no longer bear, and was only induced to postpone his project by the assurance that the British or Belgian columns would very shortly arrive, and drive the Germans from his country. The English have been welcomed everywhere,

and regarded by the people as delivering them from slavery.

“ ERNEST F. SPANTON,

“ *Principal of St. Andrew’s College,
Zanzibar.*”

“ *January 22nd, 1917.*”

Mr. Jas. Scott Brown, a civilian prisoner of war, stated in the course of his evidence :

“ The prisoners had ample opportunity of witnessing the very harsh treatment meted out to the natives by the Germans.

“ For the slightest breach of discipline the native askaris were given twenty-five lashes with the kiboko, a thick long whip, usually made from hippopotamus hide.

“ The German native servants not unusually received two punishments of twenty-five lashes each within fourteen days.

The boys were laid out in the central yard of the prison camp, each limb being held down by an askari, a fifth holding down the head, while a sergeant applied the lashes with full force.

“ Blood was invariably drawn by the severity of the punishment, and in the case of askaris pack drill of four and five hours, with haversacks sand-loaded, followed.

“ These scenes occurred daily in camp, and were an extremely revolting sight to the prisoners.”

Godfrey Herbert Pattison, manager of the Maraugu Coffee Estates, stated :

“ At New Moshi we, Smith, who was on my plantation ; Gower, a storekeeper on the plantation ; and my wife saw four chains, of about twelve prisoners each, of German natives, carrying bundles of corrugated iron, four men to a bundle. I think

a bundle weighs about $3\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. They were being made to run, and lashed by askaris with kibokos and rungas. They were without clothes, and Europeans (Germans) were present. The Germans who were onlookers, both men and women, called out 'Piga !'

"On the Safari to Kondoa, near Arusha, the porters were constantly beaten by the askaris. One porter was struck on the leg by an askari with his rifle, taking the flesh off the shin—apparently for no reason. The corporal of the native guard amused himself by walking up and down the line of porters, beating them. The European guard was appealed to by the porter whose leg had been hurt, and was told to go on and not give trouble. This sort of thing went on the whole way to Kondoa Irangi.

"At Kondoa Irangi, on two occasions

at least, I saw natives (Warangi) flogged to extract confessions. No. 1 was an old man, who was flogged in front of the secretary, Herr Jopp—Jopp stood near. When the man said something the flogging was stopped. Every three or four lashes (kiboko) the askiri said in Ki Swahili, ' Will you confess now ? ' No. 2 received similar treatment, also in front of Jopp.

"A prisoner, Mnamwezi, who was accused of theft by an Indian storekeeper, was flogged (twenty-five lashes), and then kicked on the head and side by the orderly who administered the flogging (wearing boots) in front of the same official (Jopp), to make him confess that he had stolen the money. Some of the money fell out of his clothes as he was kicked. He could not stand, and had to be helped up. About November 1914 eighty-four natives of the Universities Mission were brought in in

chains from Hardeni. They stated they had had no water for two days. Two were brought in collapsed, and two collapsed when their chains were removed. Some of these natives were flogged daily. In about three months there were fourteen deaths among them. I attribute some of these deaths to the fact that natives who reported sick were flogged for so reporting, with the consequence that they were afraid to report sick again. Native women were mixed with men in chain gangs, some of them carrying babies. This was done with the idea of degrading them. Some had half their heads shaved. The Bezirkssamtmann, Herr Grass, told me he had had this done as a deterrent. Personal boys of Germans at the front were flogged and imprisoned for refusing to follow their masters into the firing line. In one case a boy got fifty lashes at the front, and

further forty and four months' imprisonment on reaching Kondoa Irangi.

"German native prisoners were charged 8 rupees a month for their keep in jail, and on release were given tasks if they could not pay this sum. In the case of long-term prisoners the result was that they became very emaciated while working off this charge. The tasks were valued at 8 rupees per month, and the natives themselves said they got no food. They slept in the prison while doing these tasks.

"The askari recruits were, as a majority, forced to serve. The discipline was such that sometimes a quarter of the men would be flogged for mistakes or slackness in their drill on the Boma Square, where we were confined."

A deliberate part of the German policy was to insult and degrade the British in

the eyes of the native, and in pursuit of this object not even the English ladies were spared. Thus Archdeacon Herbert Willoughby Woodward, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Zanzibar and East Africa, thus describes some of the means used to lower the prestige of the British :

“ By compelling service men on several occasions under native guards to drag a hand-cart from the prison court at Tabora to some considerable distance from such camp, and there collect with their naked hands cow-dung, and place same in sacks, which were deposited on such cart, and then to drag back such hand-cart to the camp. Such manure was for the use of the garden of the white guards, and was collected in places frequented by natives. This, notwithstanding the fact that there were many native prisoners available for

this purpose, and for those hereinafter mentioned.

" By compelling service men on numerous occasions under native guards to carry raw ox-hides from the prison camp at Tabora to a cattle kraal some considerable distance away, there to scrape and bury such skins in manure, subsequently to draw water at a neighbouring well, and pour some over such skins. After a certain lapse of time such skins were dug up, scraped and in a stinking condition carried back on poles by such men, who were compelled to pass through the askari barracks and the Indian encampment.

" By compelling four service men at Tabora under native guards to stand in a pit into which all the offal of the camp had been thrown, and to bale out such offal, the stench arising from such offal being so great as to cause such men great distress,

and it is a fact that all such men were confined to their bed with fever on one and the same day.”

The insults to English ladies is no part of my subject, but I give part of the evidence of the Rev. A. B. Hellier, Inspector of Schools in Zanzibar Diocese, as it shows the atrocious moral standard of the Germans in authority in East Africa :

“ On April 22nd, 1916, forty-nine European prisoners (nearly all British), thirty-four of whom were ladies and twelve of whom were babies in arms, were taken by Dorrendorf from Buigiri to Tabora. We got about forty minutes' notice and had to leave most of our property behind. Quite 750 rupees' worth of my property was left behind and destroyed. We walked to Kikombo, and arrived about

7.40 p.m. At Kikombo we were treated as being under strict arrest. We were marched straight into an iron goods-shed, together with forty-one native prisoners. Armed askaris were posted on all four sides of the shed. Dorrendorf gave orders that ladies were to be allowed to go to the lavatory two at a time under armed escort. The askaris at once assumed an insolent tone, and addressed us in a very indecent manner. After a time the askari on guard refused to conduct any more ladies to the lavatory, but relented later. The askaris were very noisy about 2 a.m., and someone called out 'Kilele!' One of the askaris was very insulting, and brought Dorrendorf and Gerth, the other German guard. Gerth kicked against the shed and shouted 'Kilele!' Someone laughed, thinking it was a native. Gerth entered. He had been drinking. He was

purple with rage. He abused us. Then Dorrendorf entered in a similar state. He abused the English nation. He fixed on Wickham and said, 'Wait till I get you to Tabora—I do not suppose you will reach Tabora alive.' He abused Sister Eva (Miss Clutterbuck) violently, and said English women make more trouble than the men, and finally instructed the guard to shoot at once any man or woman, white or black, who moved. He went out saying 'Swine!' We were left without food for twenty-two hours, until we wrote for some. At about 5.30 a.m. some of the ladies wanted to go to the layatory. The askaris refused. Cooper sent a note to Dorrendorf about 6. Dorrendorf then gave permission. Coming back two of the ladies washed their hands and faces at the station pump. Gerth then slammed the shed door and said no more were to go

out. Miss Dunn was in a bad state, and after Cooper had threatened to call for Dorrendorf, the askari allowed her to go. At the same time Gerth pushed open the lavatory door. Miss Andrews was inside. He said she had been there long enough, and if he did not actually touch her he ordered her to come out. At 10 a.m. the situation was serious. The native prisoners, when requesting permission to relieve themselves in the night, were told to do so on the floor. It is certain that some of them must have done so. At 10 some European intervened on their behalf, and they were allowed out for half an hour. At 10 a.m. Miss Plant sent a note to Dorrendorf that we were starving. He allowed Miss Plant and Miss Foden to make a fire, and sent a quantity of rice, a lump of fresh pork, and a bucket of water. We had no plates, knives, or

forks. About midday the heat was dreadful. There was no ventilation, except for one window covered with matting. The askari said Dorrendorf was asleep, and we should have to wait. At 1 p.m. Gerth came and opened both doors. The train came in at 4 p.m. and consisted of three goods trucks. There were about seventeen in each carriage with two native askaris. We had to sit on the floor, and it was impossible to lie down.

They deserved everything they get.

"Some time in May 1916, in Tabora, a charge of immorality was brought against Dorrendorf, the origin or inception of which I do not know. Every woman who had been in Kiboriani or Buigiri was sent for and asked three questions by Lieutenant Hahn, in charge of Tabora :

"(1) 'Have you had connection with Dorrendorf ?'

"(2) 'Have you ever seen any

woman other than his wife having connection with Dorrendorf ?'

"(8) 'Do you know if any woman other than his wife has had connection with Dorrendorf ?'

"This I had as a fact from Mrs. Briggs, one of the ladies so interrogated. I may mention here that at Kiboriani we did fear that the ladies might be assaulted by Dorrendorf, and Padre White and myself had formed a plan of action in such event."

GENERAL VON SNEAK

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